UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

"The City of the Sun"

Commemorating the 300th Anniversary of the Death of Thomas Campanella

BY

DAVID JOBMAN

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

An International Case

If in our own country, says the War Resisters' International (England), a leading pacifist was prosecuted and imprisoned for expressing his opinions in a pacifist journal it would generally be agreed—even by those who did not share those opinions—that a great blow had been struck at the liberty of the press and of the individual; also it would be realized that the decline of liberty would soon be felt by others in addition to pacifists.

This is what has happened in France. About three and a half years ago Eugene Lagot, a distinguished French pacifist and a Council Member of the War Resisters' International (of which Mr. George Lansbury is President) wrote an article in *La Patrie Humaine*, a French pacifist journal. For that article he was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, though he was not actually arrested until November, 1938. He is now in prison at La Santé, Paris.

The article for which Monsieur Lagot is imprisoned was an analytical account of the various types of "Conscientious Objectors," religious and rationalist. It was such an article as any pacifist might have written, and, indeed, hundreds of such articles are written every year in this very country and in France.

The man who is thus unjustly imprisoned is a friend of humanity who has travelled thousands of miles all over Europe sowing the seeds of human brotherhood, investigating cases of persecution (often at personal risk to himself) and laboring for the release of prisoners. For this work he has neglected his own needs, becoming a poor man—for he would never accept financial remuneration though pressed to do so. If any man has deserved the support of liberal-minded people throughout the world it is this French pacifist who has always regarded the peoples of other countries as his brothers and compatriots, and is today paying the penalty of his international conception of true citizenship.

Both in France and Britain—as also in America—the governments tend to stress the blessings of a democratic regime, for which they profess to stand. The genuineness of that claim must be challenged wherever injustices occur, and specifically in this instance, by demanding Monsieur Lagot's release. Those interested should send letters to M. le Garde Des Sceaux, Ministre de la Justice, Place Vendome, Paris, France; and to the French Embassy, Washington.

In addition to this it is desirable to send a postcard to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex, England, so that some conception may be formed of the number of letters sent to the French authorities. Eugene Lagot must be released!

Nofrontier News Service.

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXXIII MONDAY, MARCH 6, 1939 No. 1

A PROPHECY

Should Fascism win a world war, then the blackness of the coming age would make the so-called Dark Ages of the past seem as bright as sunshine. . . .

Dawn, however, will rise, in days or generations. And a great lesson will be bequeathed by the black age to man. From the gratuitousness of Fascism, from the towering heights to which Destruction was lifted by it on foundations of pure perverseness and idiocy . . . man will learn a higher estimate of the power which resides in his imagination and will.

A new earth and society is rising in the will and imagination of man. This society will fuse all the older religions in a common belief enlightened by the freedom of philosophy and science. This society will realize that the earth . . . is mature for a Golden Age, generous to millions. The individual endeavor will meet its reward; castes and privileges will have been shattered. Bread will forget fear; love will not know shame. Politics, usually the rule of the best by the worst, will be falling into desuetude. Of all fatherlands one Brotherhood will be made, for men to fight united their common enemies, untamed Nature and Death.

This is Utopia. But what is man's earth if not the place predesigned for Utopia? Time, indeed, hardly is in the hand of man. Time is the inmost substance of what men call God. But what men have dreamed and willed, in good or evil, God and time have fulfilled.

Thus it happened when they invented fratricide. Thus it had happened long before when their ape-like ancestors dared to stand upright, setting free their hands to create and their eyes to look upward.

G. A. Borgese, in *Goliath.*

STOP THE WAR!

The Spanish War should stop. Perhaps it will be stopped before this editorial is published. In mercy, let us hope so. As we write, the Loyalists—led by the Prime Minister, Negrin, in opposition to the President, Azana, who sensibly pleads for peace—are objecting to General Franco's terms of "unconditional surrender." But these were General Grant's terms in our own Civil War. We liked and believed in such terms when submitted on our side, but oppose them now when they are offered on the other side. As a matter of fact, Franco, like Grant, has won the war, and victors seldom make conditions. Why, in heaven's name, should the war go on? For no imaginable reason except that the Loyalists cherish the fantastic and cruel hope that if they can only keep up the fighting, something may happen to plunge Europe into a universal war, and in the resulting chaos it may be possible to snatch victory out of the jaws of defeat. In other words, Negrin and his associates would complacently sacrifice to their pride not only the people of Spain, but the people of all Europe as well. They would pile up hecatombs of bloody sacrifice for the sake of vindication. And just here is the point! It's the lives of the Spanish people that are at stake in this barbaric business. In compassion for these lives, the war in Spain should have been stopped months ago. In compassion for what still remains of these lives, it should be stopped now. Jeremiah's counsel to Zedekiah, when the armies of Nebuchadnezzar were surrounding Jerusalem, is still sound in every such situation—for the sake of the people, accept the conqueror's terms, make peace, and begin again. What "gets" us, in this miserable war business, is that nobody ever consults the people. They are taken into the battle line by conscription; they are held there by force, until they are all dead. Has Negrin asked the Spanish people behind his front if they want to keep on fighting? Does Roosevelt favor the Ludlow Amendment providing that war shall not be declared until the people approve? What the people think is not important. It is theirs only to die in the last ditch, while their rulers stay safely in the rear, and then, at the last, run away. Stop the Spanish War—and all war!

A BISHOP AND THE PRESIDENT

Bishop Edgar Blake, of the Methodist Church, is one of the great religious leaders of this country. His friendly attitude toward Soviet Russia, in the early days of the revolution, was a notable event. His support of all progressive political policies ranks him among outstanding liberal leaders in the field of economic and social reform. His idealism is pure, his courage unquestioned. When such a man takes issue with President Roosevelt on the war and armament problem, and vigorously assails his program, it is time for all of us to heed. In an article in *Zion's Herald* (February 1st issue, page 106), Bishop Blake refers to the President's familiar statement, "I hate war," and then comments as follows:

> No one will wish to question the sincerity of the President's sentiments, but those who have observed his course closely since he entered the White House will have discovered that not infrequently there is a fatal inconsistency between his public utterances and his public policies. Mr. Roosevelt may hate war, but no President of the United States has ever so completely surrendered a national administration to the warmakers as he.

As first article in his indictment of the administration, Bishop Blake names the unparalleled arming of the nation for war. "Never has there been such feverish haste to build up the fighting forces of the nation," he writes.

> The famous four-billion-dollar Vinson naval bill, the largest in the peace time history of America, was put through Congress with the President's approval in almost the first year of his administration. Later the Wilcox bill, authorizing a chain of air fortresses across the continent was rushed through House and Senate with his support. Last year (1938) another naval bill was forced through Congress calling for an additional 400,000 tons of warships at an ultimate cost of $1,500,000,000. When the President's present naval program is completed, the United States will have a navy of 2,000,000 tons or more—a navy four times the present naval strength of Germany, three times that of Italy, three times that of France, twice that of Japan, and the equal of Great Britain's naval strength, present and building.

That this armament is a danger to the world, equally with armaments everywhere, is clearly shown by the President's recent utterances on foreign policy which have been calculated not to place America as the guide and leader of world peace, but rather to rank the republic on one side of the impending European conflict, and thus again to involve us in war. We believe that Bishop Blake is right in his warning, and right in his appeal to the churches to be vigilant in this critical hour to save our country from the administration's misguided enthusiasm for belligerency.

PURGING PURGERS

We don't like purges. We didn't like the Hitler purge on June 30, 1934; we didn't like the Stalin purge of 1937 and earlier; we didn't like the Roosevelt purge in the elections of 1938. It strikes us that purges involve everything that is most vile in human nature—vengeance, envy, hatred, fear—and an utter lack of all those best qualities of the soul that can be summed up in the noble word, magnanimity. Yet there is a purge which has been, and is still, going on in Russia which seems to satisfy something within us—perhaps our own wicked proclivities! We refer to the purging of the purgers, reported from time to time in the daily press. The Soviets, it seems, have discovered what might have been guessed by any student of human nature as well as of economics, that purging has led to a lot of "frame-ups." Government officials, desiring to demonstrate their own loyalty and zeal, or to protect their own skins, or to satisfy personal grudges, have been found to have made utterly baseless charges against utterly innocent persons. The purged, in other words, were again and again found to have been the victims of the purgers—always after the former had been safely shot by the latter! In the army, in the government service, on the farms, even in the courts and schools, this miserable work has been going on, and now the purgers are getting it. "The authorities are trying," writes a New York *Times* correspondent, "to undo the wrongs done by unlawful arrests and to prevent others." Good! But we have a question or two to ask. First, how high is this investigation going? Will it reach Stalin and his purging of the old Bolsheviks? What evidence is there that *he* was not bearing false witness for personal reasons? Secondly, why not stop this purging business altogether? How do we know that these purgers now being shot are not themselves in their turn victims of other purgers? It's the method that's wrong. Stop the shooting, and try a little democracy!

CIVIL LIBERTIES AND THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Attorney-General Murphy has proved his mettle, at the very start of his term of office, by setting up in his department an administrative section devoted exclusively to the preservation of civil liberties. It may well seem amazing that no such section has existed hitherto. The Department of Justice is supposed to be engaged in the business of supporting and vindicating the law, and it does just this in the case of forgeries, frauds, conspiracies, and other violations of the statutes of this republic. But why not also in the case of suppressions and persecutions, denial of rights and privileges guaranteed to citizens, infringement of the basic liberties of speech, press, and assembly? It has been assumed, apparently, that civil rights under the law enforce themselves, perhaps because these rights are a part not of the law, but of the Constitution itself. Such, of course, is not the case—with the result that these rights have been wantonly violated, as in the case of Mayor Hague, of Jersey City, and the Department of Justice has done just nothing at all about it. Now comes Governor Murphy, who hardly gets well seated at the desk of the Attorney-General before establishing the machinery for dealing with offenders against the Bill of Rights. What progress this marks may best be indicated by reminding ourselves of the days of the notorious Mitchell Palmer, who, as Attorney-General under Woodrow Wilson, not only did nothing to vindicate the law, but actually himself organized and led the raids which anticipated the work of Hitler's storm troopers by a dozen years. In spite of all the fears of Nazi propaganda and Fascist invasion, these are great days for civil liberties. When the government itself actually undertakes the job of protecting the rights of the people, something is happening.

THE POPE OF ROME

There are limitations upon the great office of the Holy See. The Pope is no more free than a king upon his throne, or a president in the White House. The august traditions of the Vatican, the widely scattered and diverse interests of the Roman Church in many lands, the vast influence of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, all these are as fetters upon feet trained through years to follow a straight and narrow road and themselves

old before they reach the stage of highest eminence. It is remarkable that great leaders have ever appeared among the popes—men of the type of Gregory the Great, Gregory VII, Innocent III, Leo XIII, and now, as we firmly believe, Pius XI. Within the limitations of his office, this latest Pope impressed us as one of the most exalted in the long line of pontiffs. As a man he was at once patient, tender, and heroic—his struggles with pain and death in recent months are an immortal testimony to the sanctity of his character and the sincerity of his faith! As a ruler of the Mother Church of Christendom, he was alert, courageous, far-seeing, and of stalwart fidelity to the high principles of the gospel. His flint-like opposition to anti-Semitism was enough to render him immortal. Will another Pius XI be found to succeed him? When this editorial is printed, the new Pope will probably have been chosen. The world will know little about him, and must wait to discover his intellectual and spiritual calibre. Suffice it to say that momentous things wait upon the leadership of this new Vicar of Christ. Things affecting not merely the great Roman Church itself, but the world as well! It is to be hoped that the new Pope will carry on the policies of his predecessor with an equal courage as inevitably with a fresh vigor. It is the destiny of religion as well as of civilization that now hangs in the balance, and it is fitting that Rome should take the lead in resisting the onslaughts of the new barbarians.

MR. BENES IN AMERICA

Our candidate for the Nobel Peace Prize for 1938 is still ex-President Benes, of Czechoslovakia. No nobler service of peace has been rendered in our time than by this modest, gallant gentleman. There may be question as to his policies in the past. We believe that fundamentally mistaken was his insistence at Versailles that the Sudetens should be included within the frontiers of the new republic as a perpetual minority group. We have never understood, nor ever expect to understand, why he permitted these Sudetens to live under disabilities which gave Hitler his excuse for interfering. But when the crisis came, Benes stood heroically the supreme test alike of statesmanship and manhood. Think of the situation in that fateful September of 1938. Hitler had issued his ultimatum—surrender, or war! Czechoslovakia's ally, France, had cancelled her contract and refused to come to the republic's defense. Britain had advised Benes that he must give way to his adversary. Think of what a chance to fight a war for honor or the right! How would the mad world have applauded if Benes had declared, in the spirit of the Old Guard, that he would die but never surrender! Here was the perfect set-up for patriotic heroics of the "last ditch" variety. National honor and every other claptrap nationalistic superstition were clamoring for recognition. Every soldier was in the field, every gun was loaded and poised. A new drama of Thermopylae was ready. "They shall not pass!" But without a word, Benes put this nonsense aside. He had compassion on his people, and refused to fight. It was a perfect instance of pacifism—of the new patriotism which, in such a crisis, is "too proud to fight." More worthily than any other man who has received the award, Benes is entitled to the Peace Prize. Our only confusion in this matter is the clamorous laudation of Benes by the hosts of belligerent Americans who denounce the Munich Pact, and shout for war against the Reich. Why should they praise this man who would not fight even to save his native land? These persons insult a noble figure who breathes an atmosphere of abnegation and sacrifice that they know not of.

MR. JUSTICE BRANDEIS

It was of course "inevitable," as the President said in his admirable letter accepting Judge Brandeis' resignation from the Supreme Bench, that this aged man should in due course retire. The occasion of his retirement nonetheless remains an occasion for mourning, for his loss is irreparable. There are many who can take his vacant chair, but none who can fill it. Yet one would not begrudge to Mr. Brandeis the rest which long years and strenuous labors have richly won him. As we survey the record of this great career, it seems incredible that the appointment of Louis D. Brandeis to the Supreme Court in 1916 should have met with such bitter and determined opposition. Yet this opposition was nothing more nor less than an exact measure of the worth of the nominee's service of the people's cause when he was a practising attorney in Boston. Judge Brandeis' professional life obviously divides itself into two parts—these Boston years, when he was battling the corrupt and powerful corporations, espousing the rights of labor, and pushing such constructive reforms as savings bank insurance, and the years in Washington when he sat as one of the greatest of jurists on the Supreme Bench. It was in this latter capacity, of course, that he achieved his immortal fame. His minority opinions—"Holmes and Brandeis dissenting"—are landmarks in the history of the law. Always, to Brandeis' mind, the Constitution was not so much a fixed standard as a moving guide to progress. He believed it embodied enduring principles which must be kept flexible and thus adaptable to the changing conditions of each new age. His spirit was ever brave and free, his learning prodigious, his style of a Lincolnian simplicity and clarity, his integrity unimpeachable. He was, and still remains, a liberal in the true and therefore undying sense of that great word. Outside of the law as applied to the living issue of the day, Judge Brandeis' one interest in these later years has been the Jewish cause in Palestine. It is to be hoped that his release from official duties will make possible new leadership in Zion.

Jottings

Chamberlain's umbrella was recently written up in a special Sunday feature article in the New York *Herald-Tribune*. Who knows—this umbrella may in due course displace the dove and the olive-branch as the symbol of peace. That is—if it doesn't rain!

Julia C. Stimson, President of the American Nurses Association, is being "tooted" as the "first woman in history to attain the rank of major in the U. S. Army." Women play football, tipple at bars, gamble at races, rob banks, and now get official rank in the army. Is this what is meant by emancipation?

What is this new title, "Generalissimo," which is now coming into vogue? Franco flaunts it in Spain, and Chiang Kai-shek in China. We don't like it. Any man who insists upon adorning himself with superlatives falls under our immediate suspicion.

A British cabinet minister, Sir Kingsley Wood, in a political speech in London, cried "We are proud of Chamberlain" and was promptly mobbed by "angry British Fascists." Looks as if the Munich Pact were not quite so complete a surrender to Hitler as our American warmongers have been insisting!

The fight against the indecencies and dangers of liquor marches on. Thus, the great National Broadcasting Company has just issued the following announcement:

> The National Broadcasting Company will henceforth not accept on its networks any advertising for beer or light wines, and this new regulation is an extension of the company's ban against liquor advertising.

The next step is the Columbia network. Then, the newspapers! Step by step back to Prohibition—for of course this action of the N. B. C. is Prohibition applied to the vast courses of the air!

Patriotism is a funny thing. It is now objecting to the movie star picked to play Scarlett O'Hara in "Gone with the Wind" because she is an Englishwoman. Why not object to Margaret Mitchell because she made her heroine the daughter of an Irishman and a Frenchwoman?

J. H. H.

President Roosevelt's New Foreign Policy

TARAKNATH DAS

The World War did not end with the Versailles Peace Conference, but was shifted from battlefields to diplomatic and economic fields. The victorious Triple Entente tried to convert the Versailles Peace Conference into a system of open and concealed alliances. Through these alliances and the League of Nations they wanted to keep the defeated Central Powers under control and maintain the *status quo* as regards the dismemberment of the German, Austrian, and Ottoman Empires, and Bulgaria.

It is generally forgotten that, in connection with the signing of the Versailles Treaty, France and England induced President Wilson to sign an Anglo-American-French alliance. This alliance was signed by President Wilson without the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States. Anglo-French-American alliance and American participation in the League of Nations to enforce collective security was President Wilson's own foreign policy. When President Wilson returned to the United States and the treaty of alliance was sent to the Senate for its approval, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was so disgusted with the letter and spirit of the most un-American document that it was never reported out of the Committee and thus died a natural death. It may be emphasized that the U. S. Senate very wisely repudiated President Wilson's policy of entangling alliance with France and England, and upheld the doctrines of neutrality and non-intervention.

It was the intention of British and French statesmen to have the United States of America tied up with the League of Nations, so that this country would be bound to fight for these imperialist powers operating through the Council of the League. The fight against America's entry into the League might be regarded as the best classic example of the wisdom of the founders of the republic who endowed the Senate with the authority to check the President of the United States in his unwise moves in the field of foreign affairs.

One does not have to be a Nazi (and I am opposed to Naziism, and its racial and religious discrimination and dictatorship principles) to affirm the historical truth that Germany, under Herr Hitler, has not only destroyed the limitations imposed upon her by the Versailles treaty, but also has weakened the League of Nations to the point of impotency, and virtually annihilated the Little Entente (alliance of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania) which was an appendage to France to the end of isolating Germany in world politics. On the other hand, Herr Hitler, by the annexation of Austria and the Sudetenland, and by closer understanding with Poland, Italy, Hungary, Japan, and other Powers, has created new situations strengthening Germany's position militaristically and diplomatically. In short, some twenty years after the defeat of Germany in the World War, this nation, supported by her allies, has again emerged so strong that France and Britain supported by Russia (the old Triple Entente) are not able to check her. This fact has been admitted by Mr. Chamberlain in London and Mr. Daladier in Paris; and their surrender at Munich with the consequent partition of Czechoslovakia is the best evidence

of the superior military strength of Germany and her actual and potential allies. Depending upon this strength, Germany and Italy are now demanding that Britain and France should return the former German colonies and re-distribute the African colonies in favor of Italy.

The diplomatic and economic war now going on between the old Triple Entente and Germany has produced a counter-balance in the form of a German-Japanese-Italian combination which is threatening the very existence of the British and French Empires. British and French statesmen are most anxious to secure American support in the form of a virtual Anglo-American-French alliance against the German-Italian-Japanese combination. In fact, they wish to revive the spirit of the alliance which was signed by President Wilson and most emphatically repudiated by the United States Senate and the American people.

It is well known to all students of American diplomacy that, since the days of John Hay, British statesmen have been trying their best to secure some kind of Anglo-American alliance. These statesmen know that no formal alliance is possible, because the American Senate and the American voters will repudiate any form of entangling alliance and follow the advice of George Washington, the Father of the country. Therefore British statesmen are content with secret, unwritten understandings with the Executive Departments (presided over by pro-British officials), which, in time of emergency, might be translated into an alliance in practice.

In spite of emphatic denials by very high officials, in the present phase of the undeclared World War between the Anglo-French alliance and the German-Japanese-Italian combination, the United States of America is an active but silent participant in support of the Anglo-French group of Powers.

In Asia, under the cover of the so-called parallel actions between the United States and Great Britain, the United States has ranged herself against Japan. The United States Government, through the Treasury Department and other agencies, is supplying China with credit to purchase war materials in the United States and abroad; while the State Department has used effective pressure so that the Japanese cannot secure any credit in the United States nor buy any airplanes or parts of airplanes. Now, under the cover of revising the Neutrality Act, it has been advocated that the United States—the President!—should impose an embargo against Japan in the matter of purchasing raw materials which might be used for war purposes. This is a most far-reaching and dangerous unneutral proposition that might easily lead to an American-Japanese conflict.

The present administration realizes that its policy might lead to an American-Japanese war (which would be most welcome to Britain, France, Soviet Russia, and China), and thus it has been advocating the so-called defensive program of fortifying Guam and augmenting and establishing new naval and air bases in the Pacific. Japanese statesmen have taken cognizance of the virtual Anglo-American naval coöperation since the days of American naval participation at the time of the formal completion of Britain's most formidable naval base at Singapore. But the recent naval policy of the United States, and American activities in rearming Britain and France, have induced the Japanese to take most decisive steps to counteract Anglo-American-French coöperation in the Western Pacific. Japan without much ceremony has occupied the island of Hainan, which may serve as a naval base against France in Indo-China. The powerful Japanese navy operating from Hainan would be able to cut off the Singapore naval base from Hongkong and the Philippine islands, and thus reduce the gravity of an Anglo-American naval action against Japan proper. It is evident that the United States of America is getting deeply involved in the undeclared war which is going on for the mastery of the Pacific.

In South America, the present administration's policy is to check the economic penetration of Italy and Germany into that part of the world, while it is not opposed to Great Britain's economic competition in the same field. In fact the American Government is helping the British and French Governments in every way by extending support to their currencies. But it is interesting to note that Britain is busy manipulating exchange (by lowering the pound sterling) to get the best of the American exporters in the South American and other markets. This is tolerated by the present administration because Secretary Hull and others think that the reciprocal trade agreement between the United States and Great Britain has paved the way for Anglo-American coöperation in world politics and world economics.

It must be clearly understood that President Roosevelt is committed to the policy of collective security and "quarantining the aggressor nation." Under the present policy of the State Department, it is expected that the President shall be the sole judge in deciding who is the aggressor. At the same time President Roosevelt, by his famous Kingston speech, has given unqualified assurance of extending American aid to the British Empire, not merely in Canada but virtually all over the world. These assurances of coöperation with Britain and her ally France are being translated into action by aiding British and French rearmament programs in securing fighting planes from the United States, while checking the supply of warplanes to Japan and possibly to Germany and Italy.

It may be true that the United States is not a party to any written and formal alliance with France and Britain. But in actuality the United States Government has become a party to the undeclared war against the combination of Japan, Germany, and Italy, to save the British and French Empires and possibly Soviet Russia and China. The French and the British are so pleased with President Roosevelt's new foreign policy in favor of France and Britain that they are in favor of a third term for President Roosevelt.

I wish to emphasize the point that, with much talk about isolationism, the American Government has never followed an isolationist policy in international affairs; and therefore, in the past, has participated in international conflicts. To protect American interests, the American Government would be justified in taking sides in foreign wars. But this can only be done constitutionally with the approval of the American people. It must not be forgotten that an American President may, by pursuing a particular policy, lead the nation to the verge of a foreign war. This was done by President Wilson during the last World War.

President Roosevelt, a devoted admirer and dis-

ciple of Woodrow Wilson, an advocate of the League of Nations and its collective security program, has definitely adopted a policy of alliance with France and Britain to uphold their empires and interests, and in this way help to maintain democracy in the United States! It is about time for the American people to find out whether such a policy might not lead this country into a World War which will cost the United States tens of thousands of lives, another twenty millions of dollars or more, and bring about a complete collapse of the last vestige of democracy in this republic.

It is beyond doubt that President Roosevelt honestly believes that the very existence of the United States as a democracy is being endangered by the totalitarian powers—Germany, Italy, and Japan. He also believes that, by aiding China, France, and Britain, he is serving American interests. President Roosevelt is honest in his convictions that in the undeclared conflict between the Anglo-French group of powers and the totalitarian states, the United States cannot and must not remain neutral, but should effectively support Britain and France. And he is doing it!

It is the considered opinion of many who cherish a very high respect for President Roosevelt's integrity of purpose that any form of written or unwritten Anglo-American-French alliance in practice will later on lead the United States into a World War; and the American people do not want to be dragged into another World War under the pretext of saving democracy.

Has not the time come when the American people, who will have to sacrifice their lives and property in case of war, should have a voice in formulating American foreign policy? It seems to me that, before it becomes too late and America is involved in an international conflict, steps should be taken for organizing an unofficial and national poll on the issues of American foreign policy. Do the American people approve President Roosevelt's new foreign policy, which means Anglo-French-American-Chinese (and possibly Russian) coöperation against Germany, Italy, and Japan?

"The City of the Sun"

(Commemorating the 300th Anniversary of the Death of Thomas Campanella)

DAVID JOBMAN

Thomas Campanella, celebrated Italian poet and monk-philosopher, for twenty-seven years prisoner of the royal Spanish Inquisition, and author of the fascinating brief utopian dialogue, *Civitas Solis, City of the Sun,* was a product and contemporary of a unique epoch; in itself a landmark in man's eternal quest for a life of creative fellowship and moral attainment.

When our hero and martyr appeared upon the scene, the Dark Ages already formed a dismally submerged chapter of past history in the annals of mankind. The Renaissance had its seeds fully scattered, germinating vigorous sprouts in the many cultural giants of that age. The mythical Atlantis, a new world in the western hemisphere, was actually unveiled, with its inviting opportunities, as a living reality. Magellan's first circumnavigation of the globe, Gutenberg's invention of movable type, Copernicus' revolutionary hypothesis were all accomplished facts, urging human thought to lofty heights. Dante, father of Italian poetry, and Boccaccio, with his wit and eloquence, had already fertilized the Latin world for more daring intellectual exploits. The versatile Thomas à Kempis, credited with the creation of *The Imitation of Christ,* had left his imprint upon the more imaginative and sensitive souls. The tragic fate of the Italian religious reformer Savonarola, the equally tragic fate of William Tyndale, English translator of the Bible into everyday language, and the sad fate of the great Spanish scholar Servetus had left their fearful shadows in the hearts of man. Luther's revolt against autocracy in institutional religion was already a relative success, with its dreadful repercussions witnessed by Campanella during the fratricidal Thirty Years' War. The savage and cynically unethical rationalizations of Machiavelli had taken root. The same age saw men lending their attentive ears and sympathies to leaders of the type represented by Raffaello, Rabelais, Montaigne, and John Knox; the last mentioned honored with a sentence on the French galleys! His age bowed to the grandeur of Michelangelo and to the eminence of John Calvin; and was in mood to pay homage later to the illustrious Shakespeare and Galileo, barely four years of age respectively when Campanella arrived.

But the architect of *Civitas Solis* is nearest to our times as the immediate contemporary of such men as Descartes, father of modern philosophy; or of that ill-fated Bruno, arrested and burned by the Inquisition on February 17, 1600, "as an obstinate heretic"; or of Francis Bacon, English philosopher and author of *Novum Organum* (1620), seven years our author's senior. In the footsteps of the liberty-loving Mazzini and the meteoric Garibaldi, his compatriots of later fame, Campanella could not help turning "disturber of European peace" by giving full play to mental and spiritual aspiration and speculation. And it is in the realm of philosophy, natural science, and social experimentation that the monk is revealed. At the ripe age of fifty-five, he produced an outline of an exquisite social order embracing a peace-loving brotherhood, in harmony with the desires and requirements of a rational, progressive, humanely religious, and democratic humanity.

I

The creator of *The City of the Sun,* baptized Giovanni Domenico, was born on September 5, 1568, in a small village named Stilo, in the province of Calabria, Italy. At the age of thirteen he read and wrote extensively, and his father planned to send him to Naples to study law. But the boy took to the management of his own life quite early by "entering himself, in 1582, into the order of the Dominicans." Though sharpening his wits on the current Greek, Latin, and Arabian commentators on the works of Aristotle, whose works the Renaissance rediscovered, his own interests lay in the field and discourses of a living divinity. His keen mind and fearless integrity manifested themselves early. In the year 1590 or 1591 he composed his first great work, *Philosophia Sensibus Demanstrata,*—an eloquent

defense of natural philosophy against the scholasticism of his Aristotelian age. The author's youthfulness, zeal, and originality led to fame, and aroused the jealousy and hatred of his elders. He was obliged to shift his places of study—from Naples to Rome; to Florence, where he befriended the Grand Duke Ferdinand I, patron of learning; then to Venice, Padua and Bologna. A rebellion and plot in his native Calabria against Spanish tyranny placed him, as an Italian patriot, in the hands of the royal Inquisition, to be shipped as convict to Naples. In the year 1599 he was brought before the tribunal, charged with divers heresies—the Inquisition attacking him for "books he had not written and of opinions he did not hold." But the powers of force and reaction care very little for truth, and still less do they know justice or mercy. The monk was tried five times. He was put to the horrible tortures of the rack seven times; finally to be condemned, on January 8, 1603, "to perpetual imprisonment." On May 15, 1626, after a long chain of disheartening years in confinement in the dungeon of the Neapolitan Inquisition, thanks to the good agency of Pope Urban VIII (who was sympathetically acquainted with the victim's literary works), the undaunted prisoner was permitted by Philip IV of Spain to be transferred to the prison of the Inquisition in Rome; to be set free, three years later, by the Pope. On April 6, 1629, he was out of his dungeon, receiving a pension as a reward for a faithfulness which stood the severest test.

Still persistently harassed by his Spanish persecutors, Campanella, in the guise of a servant, was forced in the year 1634 to flee Rome, seeking refuge and protection in France. There, Cardinal Richelieu and the king took him under their personal care. But the recluse refugee was not fated to enjoy such luxury of freedom and ease for long. The long years of nightmare, torture, and incarceration had broken the frail body, though not the spirit of the man. On March 21, 1639, five years after his landing in Marseilles, he passed away at the age of seventy-one, leaving behind a most ungrateful world of pain and sorrow. He died in peace, in the midst of the balmy shadows of the Dominican monastery at Paris, where he found that hospitality and final rest denied to him by the rulers of his own beloved Italy. Thus, he outlived the great Shakespeare and his equally famous Spanish colleague, Cervantes, by twenty-three years; as if destined by fate to carry on a tradition left unfinished by these two greatest literary geniuses of a most remarkable chapter in the history of civilization.

During the quarter of a century of his imprisonment, the martyr eased his agonies by the fruit of his pen. Poetry, theology, science, and political economy, all claimed his sincere interests. Out of a total of over eighty compositions to his credit, more than half were written and completed in prison; among them *The City of the Sun,* which was his contribution to the prophetic literature of mankind, offering the hope and the vision of a more humane civilization yet to come. What was the design of that social order which captured the soul of the monk while his body lay prostrated and torn in the dungeon?

II

With the magic dexterity of an Aladdin out of the *Arabian Nights,* the Italian lifts himself above his sordid prison surroundings by the unfolding of a working vision of an ideal democracy in the form of a dialogue between a Grand Master and a Sea Captain, his guest. The seaman narrates a story of how in his wanderings over the globe he was once forced to go ashore at a place "under the equator," where he found himself face to face upon a hill with the City of the Sun; into whose intimate life he was presently introduced by a welcoming party of its happy inhabitants.

Taking close notes, the adventurer finds that there is neither hasty haphazard construction nor an ugly building to be seen. The general plan of architecture combines a security from outside aggression (since they are still encircled by a hostile world plotting aggression and destruction), beauty, and general utility, —making for progressive, physically hygienic and esthetically comfortable community life. With the terrain of his native Italy in mind, the prisoner builds his ideal republic upon a hill in seven huge harmoniously-blending circles or boroughs, named after the seven planets. It appears that the creative individual and social consciousness of the citizens had left nothing pleasant or desirable undone.

For dwelling places they have spacious palaces for all, which are connected by arches, forming beautiful galleries for promenading. These are supported by magnificent columns enclosing restful arcades. Flights of marble steps bring the visitor to the inside galleries, leading directly into the high and beautiful rooms, which are separated by richly decorated walls. The interior of the homes, as well as all inside and outside partitions and galleries, are richly carved and painted with excellent forms and pictures of cultural significance. A temple of wondrous art crowns the peak of the hill; its spacious vaults and arches being lined with seats "well adorned." The simple altar is mounted by two globes, obviously intended to signify the indivisible moral unity and physical oneness of the family of nations. Upon one of the globes the heavenly bodies are clearly depicted, while the other carries a detailed representation of our own planet. Precious stones are lavishly employed as pavement for the temple. A revolving flag projecting from a small dome indicates the direction of the wind, with special markings for weather forecast "on land and sea." The walls and dome are carved with perfect outlines of stars, whose peculiarities are described plainly alongside "in three little verses." The guest is impressed by this interesting phenomenon—wherever he turns his eye he finds simplicity and beauty, utility and delight, practicability and esthetic expression. Solar timepieces and bells, placed conveniently in public squares, tell "the hours and seasons."

Since the application of art is at the very foundation of their educational system, and both cement the pillars of their cultural life, it is very important for us to follow the architect's scheme in actual application. The traveler finds that the first circle or borough of the city, its walls and structures, is taken up with a visual course in applied mathematics and world geography; the former is studied with apparent success from paintings, having its problems "marked symmetrically, and with the explanation of them neatly written and contained each in a little verse." A conspicuous feature of this section of the city is an immense map of the earth drawn upon the exterior of a wall with "tablets setting forth for every separate country the customs both public and private, the laws, the origins and the power of the inhabitants."

The second ring of buildings is taken up with

paintings, descriptions, and specimens of geological and mineralogical interests; including the bodies of water of the earth's surface, sources of liquid products (oils, wines, etc.), with instructive notations of their respective characteristics. All phenomena of the air and the visible elements of nature are in this section, followed by explanatory lines.

The third circle is dedicated to the study of forestry, horticulture, pomology, and landscape gardening. Earthenware vessels containing live specimens are on hand for study and comparison, accompanied by a brief history of each on origin and uses. Here, likewise, is a complete study, simply done, dealing with the life of fishes, their habitat, and breeding habits. In all, the captain notes, "whatever the watery world possesses worthy of being known is there fully shown in marvellous characters of painting and drawing." Thus an incredibly abundant and reliable source of information on natural science and history is made available.

The fourth and fifth circles give a pictorial study of the science of zoölogy, with excellent illustrations revealing the wonderful variations in life.

All mechanical arts and social sciences, the names of their inventors and the manner of their use, are fully described upon the interior and exterior walls of the sixth circle. Conspicuous among the familiar names of the heroes of mankind, selected by the citizens of the City of the Sun for adornment, are Moses, Pythagoras, Solon, Caesar, Alexander, and many "other very renowned heroes of peace and war."

As already mentioned, the symbolic temple crowns the seventh and last circle, making for a complete picture housing the Dominican's closely knit fellowship. Efficient instructors, called magistrates, are assigned to explain the pictures. The entire scheme of a sound liberal and professional training is so planned and all essential knowledge and wisdom of the ages are so pleasantly revealed that "boys are accustomed to learn all the sciences, without toil, and as if for pleasure."

The builder of the City of the Sun made honest and morally fruitful labor a noble profession, the cumulative effect of which is a life of economic security for all, with social and industrial democracy taking their natural leadership in the life of the community. A life crowded with purposeful moral effort is at the bottom of their material and cultural well-being. In the City of the Sun all necessary work is looked upon not as a burden, but as welcomed "discipline," with pride and vanity relegated to the catalogue of "the most execrable crime." The people have organized, voluntarily and peaceably, in such a manner that it was made possible for each to work "according to his natural propensity," with the happy result that each one "does his duty well and pleasantly, because naturally." The most honorable are those who perform their moral and civic obligations most readily when work is to be done. All legitimate needs are met not by threat of hunger and force, but by intelligent and friendly agreement and mutual aid.

Just as it is recognized that cultural requirements of mankind vary with individual genius and inclination, so must it be acknowledged that the physical well-being of all demands a certain universal approach which would guarantee life-necessities to all. To accomplish this, science and skill are made to serve human needs; that is, labor, technique, and production are administered under social guidance to supply those goods needed for use and cultural delight. Says Campanella: "Whatever is necessary they have, they receive it from the community; and the magistrate takes care that no one receives more than he deserves. Yet nothing necessary is denied to anyone." How is work distributed? "The occupations which require the most labor, such as working in metals and building, are the most praiseworthy among them. No one declines to go to these occupations, for the reason that from the beginning their propensities are well known, and among them, on account of the distribution of labor, no one does work harmful to him, but only that which is necessary for him." And our architect of a new life adds: "The occupations entailing less labor belong to the women." As a rule, they share in duties "such as weaving. spinning, sewing, cutting the hair, shaving, dispensing medicines, and making all kinds of garments."

The science of agriculture, held in the highest esteem, is established upon a plane which allows the laborers to "do their work in a very few hours and with much ease." Suggesting the idea that public esteem and ease of performance will dislodge any natural dislike for discomfort, Campanella foresaw the coming age of the machine, for his farmers are already employing "wagons fitted with sails which are borne along by the wind, even when it is contrary, by the marvellous contrivance of wheels within wheels." He advises deep plowing and artificial fertilizing of the soil, "so that fruit is born quickly and multiplies." Animal husbandry, the breeding of choice stock by selection, is fully developed; and this branch of scientific extension was suggested to them by the ancient reference in the Bible, "as it was in the time of Abraham."

With a planned economy democratically established upon the basis of use for actual needs and culture, the distribution of wealth is rational and equitable. Poverty, degradations of slums, are unknown; because made unnecessary. Elected magistrates see to it that "no one wants either necessaries or luxuries." There can be no scarcity, "since everyone likes to be industrious, their labors being slight and profitable." The most skilful and the foremost in the service of their community, whether in the domain of art, science, agriculture or industry, are naturally in the top grade of their civic nobility. Their individual and social codes of applied ethics breathe that very "spiritual power" which helps man voluntarily "to turn the defeat of his selfish purposes into victorious living for others."

Each section of the city, the traveler finds, is provided with suitable dormitories, dining halls, kitchens, —the latter placed in charge of an aged couple. The boys and girls under the age of twenty wait at the tables; those over forty receive the respect and services of their youngers. Duties are assigned in rotation. Dining is done in a solemn and cultural atmosphere, with a young citizen reading aloud from some classic, questioned occasionally by the most learned present. Frequently, music and song accompany the meal. On occasion, "they improve themselves mutually with praises, with conversation, with actions, and out of the things they need."

The monk-philosopher grants perfect equality between the sexes in the fields of education, garb, and general pursuits—"both sexes," explains the Captain, "are instructed in all the arts together." Eugenics is boldly accepted as a basic rule for the perpetuation of the finest and noblest. Chief Magistrate Love, with the aid of specially trained magistrates, caters to all the

legitimate needs conducive to a wholesome physical life. The result is, we are assured, that "the best offspring" is produced. Says our architect with a critical smile: "Indeed, they laugh at us who exhibit a studious care for our breed of horses and dogs, but neglect the breeding of human beings." As for himself, the architect of the future stood for common sense, for scientific truth, for human universal enjoyment of a life in happy and ennobling pursuits.

We are informed by the author's spokesman that in the ideal city the women are not like the pale, small, and feeble creatures of the world, who must resort to high sandals and artificial coloring in order to show some attraction of "slothful tenderness," ruining their own natures and those of their offspring. In the City of the Sun the women know no natural deformity, for by means of rational living and wholesome exercises in the performance of useful duties they become the possessors of a clear complexion, a strong and beautiful body,—strong of limb, tall, and agile; in short, the woman is a true child of Nature, with charms unsurpassed and unadulterated. As to passions of sex—"If at any time," says our Italian builder of Utopia, "a man is taken captive with ardent love for a certain woman, the two are allowed to converse and joke together, and to give one another garlands of flowers or leaves, and to make verses. But if the race is endangered, by no means is farther union between them permitted." Anticipating criticism, the author calls his readers' attention to the fact that the very essence of their life—their economic and cultural background—makes "love" not a product "of eager desire," but "of friendship." Recalling that the monk's citizens of his ideal city had succeeded in the creation of an environment where "each one receives what he is in need of" and that their national economy is so planned as to enable the Sea Captain to report that "in the City of the Sun, while duty and work are distributed among all, it only follows to each one to work for about four hours every day,"—in such an ideal order the most skeptical reader might be impressed to grant that there is a possibility for "platonic love" to succeed in critical situations.

A free and intelligent education must go together with a wholesome environment before we can hope to attain a physically and morally fair manhood and womanhood. But, says Campanella, "since individuals for the most part bring forth children wrongly and educate them wrongly, they consider that they [the citizens of his ideal society] remove destruction from the State, and therefore for this reason, with most sacred fear, they commit the education of the children, who, as it were, are the element of the republic, to the care of magistrates; for the safety of the community is not that of a few." Hence, we are told, the new-born babies are nursed by their mothers in special nurseries "for two years or more as the physician orders." After weaning, the males and females are separated and placed under direct supervision of special guardians. Beautifully and comfortably attired, together with other children, they are pleasantly instructed by means of their pictorial arts in the sciences of natural history and mechanics. Normal children, it is perceived, like freedom, action, play. They love life and activity for the very joys and thrills of living and working. They want to know things, to see things, to do things themselves as creators. The guardians of Campanella's city direct and nurse all these healthy impulses of youth into socially useful and ethically beautiful channels ennobling each one's sacred personality. The children, therefore, are watched most concernedly. The child showing signs of weakness, especially "in the intellect," is sent off to the farm. Upon recovery, it may return to original or city life. And the Italian architect wishes the reader to believe that the fruit of such an early training must produce a race of men "honoring one another with mutual love and help."

At the age of seven, the children are led to imbibe the essentials of mathematics. As their interests widen, they are brought into closer contact with the useful trades. This is accomplished by bringing them to the workshops where carpentry, painting, metal-working and cooking are practiced. This training is supplemented with an intelligent reading of all the sciences, for the specific purpose, Campanella tells us, "to find out the bent of the genius of each one." Work, study, and play,—a full enjoyment of an expanding moral life—are interrelated and inseparable. In their zeal to make living a happy adventure, nothing is overlooked. Universal interests and appeasement of a cultural appetite have brought about the spontaneous unification of effort for personal and social welfare. And it is the early implanting of moral and humanitarian attitudes that makes such a life possible.

From infancy the young generation is led to appreciate that honest and useful labor is the badge of honor of true citizenship; naturally, "they consider him the more noble and renowned who has dedicated himself to the study of the most arts and knows how to practice them wisely. Wherefore," remarks the author, "they laugh at us in that we consider our workmen ignoble, and hold those to be noble who have mastered no pursuit, but live in ease and are so many slaves given over to their own pleasure and lasciviousness; and thus, as it were, form a school of vice, so many idle and wicked fellows go forth for the ruin of the State." Well acquainted with the idle aristocracy of the Old World as he found it, Campanella was brave enough to call things by their names.

Blind appetite, or high-pressure salesmanship, does not control the culinary code of the monk's citizens. At the outset of their experiment, relates the Sea Captain, they were unwilling "to slay animals, because it seemed cruel; but thinking afterward that it was also cruel to destroy herbs which have a share of sensitive feeling, they saw that they would perish from hunger unless they did an unjustifiable action for the sake of justifiable ones, and so now they all eat meat." To the truth-seeking Dominican it was a statement of natural and Darwinian fact. The people mix and change meals frequently and systematically so that "nature is never incommoded or weakened." Eating "the most healthy things, according to the time of the year, they are moderate drinkers of wine; and live generally to the good age of 100, not infrequently reaching the happy life of two centuries." Personal and social hygiene, in garb and manner, is the universal rule. The clothes that the people wear are well fitted and of suitable material; changed "according to the circumstances and necessity as decided by the officers of health." And, adds the investigator significantly, "it is marvelous that they have at the same time as many garments as there is need for, some heavy and some light, according to the weather." Though writing three hundred

years ago, long before the full advent of the modern machine-age with its marvels of mass-production, the Italian already felt that there was enough of all the good things in life to go around for all.

The seasons of the year are inaugurated with festivities, popular performances, music, and salutations. In like manner are the other occasions of public significance celebrated. Poets use these social gatherings to display their talents; but, the Italian warns the uninitiated, "no one can exercise the function of a poet who invents that which is not true." In a moral and religious society, literature must have a social and cultural function. Talent and exceptional services are recorded "in the book of the heroes."

Their dead are cremated. Statues and portraits of their outstanding citizens are prominently placed for instruction and emulation. Names are given "according to each one's peculiarity," for skill, deeds of merit and valor; "cognomens are added by the high magistrates," frequently "with a crown suitable to the deed or art, and the flourish of music." Precious stones, "gold and silver are reckoned of little value among them except as material for their vessels and ornaments, which are common to all." It is manifest that where there is an abundance of desirable things, and that abundance is available to all, there is created a new human psychology which naturally acts for the enrichment and ennoblement of the moral individual, and, through the individual, of the whole State. Fundamentally, the life of the citizens of the City of the Sun was built upon the exalted ethical formula of the later-day reformer who counsels, "So act as to elicit the best in others, and in so doing you will be gradually transformed into the image of what is ideally best in yourself." In actual application, Campanella utilized the principles which the ethically inspired Felix Adler outlined three centuries later in his *Ethical Program of Social Reform;* namely, "the work a man does should be the chief matrix of his personal development. In the work of his hands he should discover and unfold his mental and moral self. Salvation must come by work." Thus, the idealist of the twentieth century readily joins hands with the visionary of the seventeenth, both laboring "through the increase of things to ennoble souls."

In their relation with other nations, the people of Campanella's city accept not money but goods in exchange; "and the young people . . . are much amused when they see that for a small piece they receive so many things in exchange." Among them the friendly stranger is always welcome, heartily entertained, and freely instructed in the best they have. Upon request, the neighbor may be naturalized and fully admitted into their fellowship. But the applicant must first prove his good intentions and abilities by a month's probation on a farm and another in the city. He must show by actual performance that he intends to make himself a socially useful peace-loving member of their progressive and democratic society.

Though a man of profound sentiment, Campanella dared to face the unpleasant as well. He realized that the City of the Sun was still a vision in the midst of a hostile world, with barbarians in modern guise. Nothing but stern vigilance and determination could guarantee the independence and joyous life of their republic. The kind monk was obliged to emulate the Spartans and Amazons by training his people, women and boys not excluded, "to anticipate," and "to strike" and "to conquer" the foe. But even in times of war the people held on to the democratic and moral standards of their banner. Campanella's spokesman narrates that when war becomes imminent, a popular assembly decides the issue where "the occasion of war and the justice of making an expedition" are made clear. Once decided upon, it is left to the Chief Magistrates Power, Wisdom, and Love to attend to the details. Watching for the first opportunity, the bitterness of the strife is quickly healed and forgotten by the policy of appeasement and generosity. The conquered foe is treated as a friend and an equal. After the conflict, "freely they pardon the offenses and faults of the enemy, and after the victory they are kind to them . . . they never cease to load the conquered with favors." Campanella felt that by humane consideration the causes of all bitterness in past experiences would be erased from the human slate, thus removing the very possibility for the harboring of ill feeling and averting all desire for revenge. The all-important query arises: Would our own generation confront the ghastly fears and preparations for a Second World War had Campanella's generous ways of treatment of a vanquished foe been in vogue in the years following the Armistice of 1918, when the young German Republic was in such dire need of that very spirit and hand of helpfulness from the democratic world, which was not forthcoming on account of lack of foresight and magnanimity? Lacking the faith and statesmanship of a Campanella, the modern rulers of Europe have resurrected the savagery of the Middle Ages, with a Black Thursday degrading the records of a most heroic people among the family of nations.

The City of the Sun is a smoothly working successful Democracy. At regular intervals, at the time of the new and full moon, a general assembly is convoked where all over the age of twenty are admitted. Free speech, full and fearless discussion, and a thorough public examination of official acts are then in order. There, "each one is asked separately to say what is wanting in the State and which of the magistrates have discharged their duties rightly and which wrongly." Magistrate Power reports on the state of security. Magistrate Wisdom explains the latest advancements in science, touching the spheres of astronomy, music, poetry, painting and sculpture. Magistrate Love deals with the vital particulars of food, clothing, education, and eugenics, stressing applied agriculture and medicine. Public health naturally falls within the domain of Love.

Following the reports of the various chiefs, the democratic assembly enters into a general discussion "about those things which are for the welfare of the State." The minor functionaries are elected by popular decision. The four Chief Magistrates themselves are obedient and honorable in the service of their community; and, we are instructed, as true servants of the people, they "yield willingly to the wiser man and are taught by him." Vacancies in positions of trust are filled "by the teachers of that art over which they are fit to preside." Only the best craftsmen, the best scientists, the best teachers and thinkers, as well as the most constructive statesmen are naturally entrusted with the management of their life. Those of creative spirit receive the votes of confidence. Such public functionaries can be neither selfish, wicked, nor tyrannically overbearing; for they have not missed the moral training which religiously cements character with civic

virtue. Only devotion to public justice can receive the badge of authority. As to the legal code, the traveler finds that the citizens of the City of the Sun have very few laws, "short and plain"; so simple indeed that they are conveniently attached to the doors of the public temple, so that any one may read and know.

In the City of the Sun crime and punishment are fully divorced from bitterness, though the author's religious training makes him ally his forces with the outmoded spirit of correction as maintained in the Holy Writ. An eye for an eye, men have learned, does not offer the remedy against an evil; nor does such course lead to the ennoblement of a moral society. In the poet's city the victims of error are judged by those who knew them intimately from previous association. Hence, "the first master of his trade" is the accepted judge of that particular craft. The guest finds that there are no prisons; "and there is no written statement of a case, which we commonly call a lawsuit." Slander is looked upon as an ugly crime. Cases are disposed speedily, with sympathy and consideration for all concerned. "And the accused person," we learn, "is reconciled to his accuser and to his witnesses, as it were, with the medicine of his complaint, that is, with embracing and kissing."

What are the penalties? Campanella tells us that "sins of frailty and ignorance are punished only with blaming and with compulsory continuation as learners under the law and discipline of those sciences or arts against which they have sinned." In the main, we are assured by the architect of a new life, "the sentences are certain and true correctives, savoring more of clemency than of actual punishment." The Italian poet was under the impression, prophetic at its best, that when drawn into the vortex of peaceful and pleasure-creating activities that harm no one, the pacific tendencies of mankind will come into a complete heritage, leaving the jungle instincts behind. This assumption makes their penal code lenient and humane,—"accused persons undergoing punishment are deprived of the common table, and other honors, until the judge thinks that they agree with their correction."

The religious attitude of the people of the monk's ideal State deserves close attention. Campanella does not hide his thoughts. His conception of religion and religious living is a creed serving as a waking gong, signalling the rejuvenation of a worldwide brotherhood, with leisure, culture, and opportunities for a life of greater abundance guaranteed peacefully and democratically to all. He was a Christian by deed, as well as by profession. The Sea Captain who made a study of the City of the Sun tells us that the people there "consider no created thing worthy of the adoration of worship." This eliminates at once the rule of despots and the ungodly deeds of clay. In fact, we are told most explicitly that they worship God first, "that they may not come into the power of a tyrant and fall into misery by undergoing punishment of creatures of revenge." With the world being driven back to the dark ages of persecution, burning of books, and barbarism by inhuman tyrannies, the fears of the author expressed three hundred years ago sound most modern indeed.

The people of the City of the Sun believe in the immortality of the soul. Yet the monk-philosopher makes it apparent that superstitution has no quarters in his realm of the future. The author tells us that his citizens believe that one's abode and companions in the Great Beyond are "wicked or good according to the merits of their present life." His people identify godliness with humanity. Such creed calls for self-discipline, knowledge, personal integrity, and devotion to the common and universal good, as well as for individual responsibility. Such a faith is the Golden Rule in daily application. In the ideal city, religion is dynamic, friendly, fruitful, humanely corrective, practical, and all-embracing. It cannot inculcate bias against the neighbor across the street. Like President Lincoln's spirit of benevolent fellowship in the pursuit of justifiable and ennobling tasks, the Italian's conception of religious practices aimed to train mankind to live and work steadily "with malice toward none, with charity for all." Campanella wanted his future leaders of religion to embrace and to practice the best there is in science in order to serve the better man's soul, nursing those finer sentiments of the inner self which enable man to be master of his own destiny. Love for God and respect for the lives and rights of a moral mankind lay at the very foundation of his ideal city; and the monk, no doubt, dreamed of an age when the application of such a religion in life would replace the vainglory and strife and criminal persecution of innocents in a world given over as prey to "jungle savagery."

No wonder then that in the City of the Sun there is real freedom without license; real justice with mercy; real equality within reason and equity; and a real devotion and universal concern for human life bespeaking the moral unity of a truly religious and progressive human race. We are told by the Captain that it is the Chief Magistrate who "deliberates with them [the priests] concerning the matters which he has lately investigated for the benefit of the State and all the nations of the world." Trusting in the real brotherhood of mankind, they draw upon the best in each for the greater glory of all. Hence with song of praise to Love, Wisdom and the virtues, the priests of Campanella's commonwealth "sing the deeds of the Christian, Jewish, and Gentile heroes, and of those other nations, and this [adds the Italian] is very delightful to them." There is not a trace of bias or ill feeling in the monk's philosophy; and as such it carries the very promise of the remedy which, sooner or later, must rid mankind of the plagues of prejudice and hatred which threaten the very existence of our civilization. Referring directly, Campanella says: "this religion, when its abuses have been removed, will be the mistress of the world."

III

John Addington Symonds, translator of Campanella's sonnets, gives us an intimate portrait of the creator of the City of the Sun when he refers to him as the "audacious Titan of the modern age, possessing essentially a combative intellect; a poet and philosopher militant, who stood alone making war upon the authority of Aristotle in science, of Machiavelli in statecraft, and of Petrarch in art." He stood alone, surrounded by fears, hatreds, and prejudices, in the midst of wars, yet with a prayer upon his scorched lips and within a suffering heart; he prayed that some day, in some brighter and finer future age, a more reasonable and humane and peace-loving civilization may arise, nursing a humanity which may make even the visions of the saints and the prophets a most practical experience in man's everyday life. He saw a living reality in an order not void of moral collaboration and unity.

He wished to divulge his innermost Christian conviction that ours can be made a better world to live in, with all men working together democratically and amicably for the greater security and moral enjoyment of life. Campanella fully realized that in order to recreate and to build better things there must be daring, integrity, initiative, intelligent and workable planning, and even conscious sacrifice bordering upon martyrdom. He labored to create a model of invincible strength and unparalleled devotion to the principles making for a working democracy. Upon the magnificent terrain of his native Italy the architect had built a social life of a religious fellowship with the inexhaustible material and cultural potentialities of man forging to triumph. By an intelligent coördination of natural wealth and human skill, a more abundant life was assured to all; thus he managed to eliminate the very seeds which set man against man and group against group, and nation against nation. He felt that there was enough to go around for all, and that good will in peaceful collaboration will make bigotry and hatred and wars unthinkable. There will be no "bad" men, no "bad" nations, no "bad classes"—just as there can be no disease—where the conditions are created for wholesome and moral pursuits, with ample opportunities fully open to all. How was it done? Self-discipline, respect for the legitimate rights of others, and a willingness to help for common welfare are naturally looked upon as the sole and indispensable cornerstones; while social institutions and educational systems must be intelligently and democratically geared to the tasks. Campanella's blueprints called for voluntary association, peaceful economic construction and an all-embracing confidence in one's fellowmen. It was the very essence implied in the monk's conviction that by and through moral and democratic action, coöperative planning, and the peaceable adjustment of vital problems affecting human security and happiness men can and must be led out of practices of terror and brutal inhumanities toward a moral life of mutual respect and helpfulness. Like Mr. Busch, the well-meaning hero of Zola's novel *Money*, Campanella had dedicated himself "to the idea of an approaching social renovation, which would assure the happiness of the poor and humble," intending in good faith to bring this about by "building up on the basis of science the whole complicated scaffolding of universal happiness." Against the beastly policies of "fire and sword," of inhumanity and dreadful paganism, the saintly monk had labored to set up the rule of brotherhood, generosity, and nobility of soul. The conflict is still on, with the twentieth century apparently brought to the crossroads. Which shall it be?

At its best, the City of the Sun is an ideal, or philosophical illusion, perhaps. Nevertheless, as Professor Jowett, the eminent Greek scholar of Oxford, reminds us in one of his illuminating introductions, (*The Symposium*), "in philosophy as in prophecy glimpses of the future may often be conveyed in words which could hardly have been understood or interpreted at the time when they were uttered . . . [for, elucidates Professor Jowett further] the intellectual and ethical are held in solution with the physical. Philosophy is not death, or abstraction from life; in and through the sensible world we rise to the ideal. Not is the eternity of knowledge asserted; but only the eternal succession of knowledge. The immortality is not personal, but an immortality of the race." Human progress and culture must be judged from the height of this historically long-drawn perspective. And the architect of our ideal city of the seven circles is fitted most readily into this chain of progressive continuity. For, as generation follows generation, with their innocent human and natural loveliness, follies, and even hysterical aberrations and cyclones of inhumanity and crime,—it is becoming increasingly more obvious that it is through the trials, darings, mental flights, and tortures of the philosophers and dreamers that the very thought or hope for a better fate for mankind has been preserved through the laborious march of the centuries. Like those of the many saints and prophets before and after him, Campanella's persecutors and jailors are gone and well forgotten in shame for the very crimes they perpetrated. But the written words recording the noble vision of the great souls of humanity live on, stirring the living generation and conscience of mankind to greater hope, more devout effort; to carry on. Living is an art and a science. Mankind in its very essence is a closely knit brotherhood. Common sense and a living religion would readily grant that there is no need for hatred and strife, "[that] all men," said Pope Pius XI in his dynamic Encyclical "On the Peace of Christ," "are our brothers and we members of the same great human family, that other nations have an equal right with us both to life and prosperity, that it is never lawful nor even wise to dissociate morality from the affairs of practical life, that in the last analysis, it is 'justice which exalteth a nation: but sin maketh nations miserable.'"

Protestant and Catholic, Gentile and Jew, all honest and sincerely peace-loving people will readily agree that there can be no "general welfare" where fear and jungle force are supreme; where oppression smothers the living conscience of man; and where there is no opportunity open for the unfolding of a moral personality which is to build the democratic society of tomorrow, which was in the mind of the author of *The City of the Sun;* as it must have been uppermost in the thought of all those seers and prophets who toiled for universal peace under a moral Brotherhood of Man embracing all mankind.

Truth and I

We grow together—Truth and I—
An all-inclusive unity.
We wander not in ways abstract,
But hold the universe intact.

Though all things change in endless flow
Oneness of being do we know—
The beauty of the all-complete,
The everlastingly concrete.

Fullness of life, fullness of joy
That no misgiving can destroy.
No drawing back from things apart.
Nothing but love to fill our heart.

The Truth and I made one and whole
Are of all living things the soul.
Yea, life itself we deify—
Eternal Truth, immortal I!

VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

Is Profit-Sharing a Way Out?*

FRANK GANNETT

It is necessary in any profit-sharing plan that the workers be taken into confidence and that they be given a full report of the company's business so that they may understand exactly how they have participated in the profits. Of course, all concerns that have securities listed on the New York Stock Exchange already furnish full information about the conduct of the business.

Here I might say, incidentally, that it was only a few years ago when business men thought it was nobody's business how they conducted their affairs, and it is reported that when Theodore Roosevelt first urged fuller reports on corporation earnings, one of the great financiers indignantly said, "He wants us to walk around with glass pockets." Yet in a couple of decades, what then was resisted is today the accepted practice. In my judgment the corporation in the future may recognize a broader responsibility—to include not only stockholders, but labor and the consuming public. In the Annual Report, under such circumstances, the number of days of employment, the regularity of employment and the income per worker would be reported in addition to the profits for stockholders. At the same time the corporation might publish or have available records showing its relation to the consuming public. In reality, the responsibility of a corporation runs in three directions: to the stockholders, to its employes, and to its consumers. This is being recognized by the leading corporations in America to a degree unequalled elsewhere in the world.

We all know there are many corporations sincerely interested in the welfare of their workers, and in which the management is trying to give labor the fullest possible return, but these efforts and intentions are in vain if the worker is skeptical. There must be absolute confidence on the part of the worker that he is getting his just return. Once he feels this is true, he will understand that he is working not for some intangible, theoretical entity called the "corporation," or "company," but for himself as well.

If most of our corporations would work out such a policy as I have described, we would have few strikes, for the worker would understand that to tie up the production of a factory would be to lessen his own reward.

A policy of this kind, I am convinced, would mean the dawn of a new day for America. At last we would get full coöperation between labor and capital; class feeling would subside; the worker, through getting the maximum return for his toil, would have his purchasing power increased; this increased consumption of every product that would follow would bring about more employment; and this increase in employment again would further enlarge purchasing power. All of this increase would bring about a higher standard of living, and the country would prosper as never before.

The treasurer of our company has reported to Congress how the Gannett Company has carried out my ideas on direct profit-sharing. In brief, we reported thus:

> In 1936 when we started profit-sharing, it was done on the basis of giving each employe with five years' service or more two weeks' additional salary; employes with three years' service, but less than five, one and one-half weeks' salary; employes with six months' service, but under three years, one week's salary.
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> In 1937, when we had a little more time to study this problem, we set aside 10 per cent of the profits of each company after all charges, to be divided among the employes of that company on a pro rata share of their earnings for the previous five years. In order to participate, an employe had to have at least one year's service. In most cases this profit-sharing amounted to a little over two weeks' salary for a five-year employe, or a little over 1 per cent of his earnings for the previous five years (or, 5 per cent of his average annual earnings).
>
> We have not made any commitment to our employes that the profit-sharing will be continued, but in all probability the same amount will be set aside from this year's profits, and we hope to make it a permanent plan. There is a possibility also that the amount of profits set aside may be increased.

As a matter of fact the amount of wage dividends distributed last year to the employes was almost as large as the total dividends on the common stock, representing the equity ownership of our eighteen newspapers.

My experience was that this division of profits was highly satisfactory and received with great appreciation and gratitude. Without the slightest doubt it developed a deeper interest on the part of the employe in the company's affairs and gave to the employes a feeling that they had a real interest in and a responsibility for the success of the company.

My suggestion that this profit-sharing be promoted by incentive legislation has been debated. My general idea is that there should be provided further tax relief than is now possible for those concerns that share their profits with their employes. Of course, I realize that under existing laws wage dividends or profit-sharing allocations can be put in as an operating expense and thus be deductible from income tax levies. In my opinion it would be a simple matter to provide that there be a further reduction of some percentage of the amount so allocated in wage dividends. In addition, any corporation setting aside a portion of its earnings as a buffer for periods of low employment, pension funds, unemployment insurance, and similar sums, for the benefit of its employes should have all such sums exempted from taxation.

Some will say that they are opposed to tax incentives on principle, and that the Government should use its taxing power solely for raising revenue. However, we have gone a long way in providing tax incentives. The protective tariff was an incentive tax levied on all the people in order to stimulate manufacturing enterprises, thus to benefit certain corporations or business concerns. In our tax plan today, we are allowed to deduct on our income tax all sums paid for charitable, philanthropic, or educational purposes. This, of course, is an incentive tax, as this provision was enacted in order to stimulate the distribution of money for charitable purposes. All of our subsidies are incentive taxes in one form or another. The Undistributed Profits Tax was an outstanding example of threatening taxes for those corporations who did not distribute their earnings to their stockholders.

Men for whom I have great respect, representing labor, have apparently the erroneous impression that establishing profit-sharing might affect the wage level. I doubt if any of us have any such conception of the idea. Wage scales are pretty definitely established in all of our industries. I hope that in a short time we shall adopt that part of the British Labor Relations System

*This article is in substance part of a statement made before the Senate Committee investigating Profit-Sharing.—*Editor.*

which provides for an organization of employers as well as employes, who voluntarily negotiate and establish a wage scale and working conditions throughout the industry concerned. My idea of profit-sharing would apply of course only to profits made after fair wages have been paid, and I cannot conceive how sharing in profits would affect in any way the current wage scales.

Labor must recognize that over every business there is an element of uncertainty. Wages cannot be set so high as to put business into the red, but when, with a given wage scale which may be as high as the industry can bear with safety, conditions are favorable and profits accumulate, workers through profit-sharing would get an additional income that they could not otherwise have.

The Study Table

A Record of War and Peace

In My Time. *By Sisley Huddleston. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.* $3.00.

I have read no book in years which has so moved me as this. And none which has so completely satisfied me! Here is the story of the last twenty-five years in Europe as one of the greatest of our newspaper correspondents has seen it. And he has seen it all, for he was in Paris during the War, at the peace conference after the War, at all the innumerable international conferences and League of Nations sessions since 1919, has been in nearly all European countries, on the scene in crises of awful moment, and closely associated in one way or another with all the famous men of this tremendous epoch. The book is full of vivid descriptions, of profound personal characterizations, of detailed observations, of frank meditation and opinion. It is the story of Huddleston's life as a man and career as a journalist, but more a history of the War and post-War era, and all told with that easy and eloquent mastery of English style which has made the author a distinguished literary figure, as well as reporter, of our time.

What is so impressive about the book is its atmosphere of unmitigated tragedy. It reads like the pages of one of the old Greek dramas of men slain by their own weaknesses and sins. Huddleston sees the Great War as a catastrophe which has led with iron tread from woe to woe, and at last now to Armageddon. It might have been different had the blind passions of cruelty and lust not ridden the whirlwind of disaster. There might have been some salvation for the race had there been one statesman who was not stupid or wicked, or both. Huddleston's contempt for the politicians of England, France, and America shrivels the very pages on which he sets down his words! But the worst and not the best was always done. The War was one vast slaughter, conducted by foolish generals to futile ends. It was dishonest in its origin, its conduct, and its aims. The Peace was "the most monstrous treaty ever written." Not least among the crimes of Versailles was Czechoslovakia, "not a nation but a hotchpotch of nationalities . . . the oppressed became the oppressor." After the War came one unbroken series of errors and sins, all culminating, as consequence following inevitably upon cause, in Adolf Hitler. "I will put on record my resolve," writes Huddleston, "registered the moment I heard Hitler for the first time, that whatever happened, however much I might disapprove of Hitler, I would bear in mind the root reason for his progress—namely, our criminally foolish delay in revising the Versailles Treaty. If Germany's grievances gave birth to Hitler, how would the perpetuation of Germany's grievances destroy Hitler? More than ever, I thought, Germany should be given a square deal. Alas! there was in most political circles a new hardening of hearts against Germany."

If any mistake could be worse than the mistakes of the War and Versailles and the years after Versailles, it is the mistake, says Huddleston, of all that has followed since Hitler's rise to power. This policy of "collective security," which has prevailed in the so-called democratic countries, has been fatal in the sense that it has strengthened Hitler with his people, and driven the Fuehrer from one madness to another. Worst of all, it has matched his hate with equal hate, and made anti-Fascism as dreadful a phenomenon as Fascism. Out of such a situation can come nothing but doom and death. The next war is upon us, primarily as the responsibility of the Allied forces of the world.

I wish I had space here to review Huddleston's scorching indictment of the whole doctrine of "collective security," his denunciation of "sanctions," his account of the League and its wretched failure, his portrayal of the Spanish civil war which presents both sides of the conflict as equally lunatic and criminal, his estimate of the present crisis and its outcome. As he ends his story, it is without hope for the future. A world devoured by hate is sweeping to its doom. Huddleston, as though in anticipation, has resigned all his newspaper posts and retired to a little village in Normandy. He will no longer have part in such a world. "Farewell, a long farewell . . ." is his last word to his readers.

Mr. Huddleston is, among other things, a profoundly religious man. He has interesting and convincing pages on the Oxford Group Movement. He has no faith in governments, in statesmen, in conferences and agreements, in war or preparedness for war. We must have a "changed outlook" upon things—we, the people everywhere. "How is the changed outlook to be brought about?" he asks. "By all of us who believe that love, not hate, is the force which moves the world, holding tight to our belief, and demonstrating it in our daily lives to others. For if the mortal error of hate, which has produced such violent upheavals in men's minds and in the great globe, continues to control us, then leagues and the rest can accomplish only harm. In the individual soul is where the resolve against hate, and therefore against war, must first be taken."

With this book I would commend Sir Philip Gibbs' *Across the Frontiers,* and Professor William Orton's *Twenty Years Armistice (1918-1938).* Read this trilogy of volumes, and you will know the truth about world affairs, and the truth will make you free of prejudice and hate.

John Haynes Holmes